3:Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1



562 tissues, is made by the women who are so [E46] occupied with other duties! The Albanian wife in the cities is also acquainted with domestic industry—she knows not laziness. Many of them, being good housewives, try to flatter the tastes of their husbands. Culinary arts are by no means alien to her: her cakes and tarts may easily cause the best patissiers of Paris to cast an envious eye into her kitchen. She is her husband's companion, his daily associate, and he keeps the lady of his hearth informed of all his affairs and often asks her advice and seeks her suggestions.

Womanhood is universally respected in Albania. They are held in the highest regard in all places to the extent that she may go any place unmolested and even in a man's company he is the one who derives protection through her.

● [728] Negotiations for a truce of peace have formerly been intrusted many times to women, for they were allowed protection and safety in an enemy's camp where a man would never have survived.

186 Even in Albanian history women have played many important roles; as above-mentioned she has been endowed with strong

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1



enter, redden their lips and cheeks with iris powder or carmine, and stain their nails and the palms of their hands with henna.

The social status of the Albanian women varies according to district and creed. The Liaps and the Christians of Southern Albania and Epirus generally occupy the least enviable position, all the hard out-of-door work devolving upon them. The Northern Albanians and also the Tosks, on the other hand, treat their wives with much greater consideration, consult them willingly in their affairs, both public and private, and accord them a position in the family almost equal to their own. And well do they merit the respect of their husbands and brothers. For often have they proved themselves to be fit companions for men, unmindful of fatigue, danger, and even death in the cause of liberty. When the armies of the Sultan menaced the privileges of which the people of Scutari had always been proud, it was the women who were the first to give the alarm and to excite the men to resist to the death, themselves following to aid in the combat. Restraining the tears natural to their sex, they would carry the mutilated bodies of their loved ones among the combatants in order to excite them to avenge their deaths. And the same women are said to have refused to receive back into their homes the husbands and sons who had for a moment turned their backs upon the enemy.

Albanian women, too, are often entrusted with negotiations for truce or peace. Such is the respect with which Albanians regard their women that they

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1



562 628 728 may traverse the camps of belligerents with greater safety than men. The terms of treaties of peace, too, are often discussed by the women belonging to the hostile parties in the privacy of the harems of the chieftains. More ready, however, as a rule, are they to espouse and take part in the quarrels of their male relatives than to act as peacemakers, and, owing to their practice of carrying arms, they are always ready for a fray. Miss Mackenzie relates that, when traversing the Pass of Katchanik, her attention was directed by her escort to two Albanian women whom they chanced to meet. "Look at them," he cried, "they are women worth looking at, for well do they know how to handle a gun!"

"Are they Moslems?" asked the traveller.

"Assuredly."

"But they do not wear the yashmak."

"Not they, indeed," was the reply. "They have never worn it, and why should they? for they are fiercer and more unapproachable than men."[1]

159 175 562 Such being the character of the Albanian women, it is not surprising that they have played a considerable part in the history of their country. It was, indeed, to the indomitable energy and courageous spirit of his mother, Khamko, that Ali Pasha, the "Lion of Ioannina," owed the earlier successes that paved the way for his subsequent brilliant career. Ali, who had during his father's lifetime been a wild and intractable boy, appears at his death to have submitted with the utmost docility to the authority of his mother. This lady, who was the daughter of a

[1] *Through Macedonia to the Albanian Lakes.*

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

# *Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans*

## 8. The Oath

A M 626 728 628 The oath played a most important part in the whole tribal area of Albania and Montenegro. The tribes lived, till recent times, in a constant state of blood-feud both with each other and within the tribes, and this was regulated only by means of sworn intervals of peace. In Montenegro you were in "krv" (blood) or under oath ("pod vjere"). In Albania, in "gjak" (blood) or under "besa." The tribesman as a rule kept the oath when formally sworn with rigid fidelity. A man forsworn was universally condemned. How by means of such oaths blood-feuds were settled we have told in another chapter.

A 626 783 *Manner of Taking Oath.*—Among the Albanian tribes there still exists the very antique custom of swearing the oath upon a stone. The priest and the hodja have succeeded in adding respectively the cross and Allah to his oath, but to the priest's vexation the mountain man persistently says, as he throws down the stone in the circle of headmen, "Per guri i per kruch" (by the stone and the cross), and puts the stone first. When a Catholic tribesman had confessed and received absolution he liked to come to church next time carrying a stone in proportion to the size of the sins confessed. What pact he had sworn on the stone I could not understand. The stone in this case was said to represent penitence. Some priests forbade the practice; others said it was unnecessary, but allowed it because this visible sign of contrition seemed really to help them. "But," said Padre Kiri of Thethi, laughing, "when a man came with a rock on his shoulder I told him he might leave it at the door."

A reason suggested for this custom is that the penitent transferred his sin to the stone and so got rid of it.

In trials before the elders a man accused of crime would swear his innocence upon a stone and fling it down before his judges.

M 626 783 *Montenegro.*—I did not find the custom in Montenegro, but it was clearly common till recently. Prince Danilo, in his Code of 1855, decrees (Law 65): "If after this day a Montenegrin or Brdjanin present himself before justice with a stone tied to his neck, whether innocent or guilty he shall be flogged."

M 754 The custom, it appears, has been flogged out. But in spite of Danilo's floggings I still found the custom of throwing a stone with a curse on to the reputed grave of a bad man. On the western side of Montenegro are several stone piles, and many such are to be found in the Herzegovina, some of which have been excavated and proved to be prehistoric tumuli. Krsto firmly believed all such heaps to be "proklete gomile" (accursed heaps) over the body of a desperate criminal who

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

# LAND OF THE HIGHLAND GHEGS

101 THE people who form the object of this study are the mountaineers who inhabit the Dinaric mountain chain on either side of the gorge cut by the river Drin on its way from the Serbian plain to the Adriatic. Most of their country lies inside the political boundaries of Albania, but parts of it have belonged to Yugoslavia for the past third of a century. [197] They speak the northern of the 2 Albanian languages, or dialects,[1] Gheg. They are not, however, the only Gheg speakers. There are [121] Lowland as well as Highland Ghegs. The present study concerns only the latter. The reason why they were specially chosen is that they still preserved, in 1929, a full tribal system of social organization, something very rare in Europe. This has one critical advantage: rules of preferential mating are definite, and are still observed. We know not only who marries whom, but we may also be sure that the same system has been going on for many generations. For a study of human genetics this material has obvious advantages.

The Highland Ghegs who form the object of our investigation belonged to 10 tribes, shown on figure 1.[1] These are Malsia e Madhe, Dukagin, Malsia e Jakovës, Has, Luma, Puka, Mirdita, Zadrima, Mati, and Dibra. Before 1913 all of the tribes, except Dukagin, which now touch Yugoslavia extended a certain distance into the present territory of that country. On parts of the northern border the overlap is an old one. Many of the Montenegrin gentes admit descent from Albanian families, and one finds every stage of linguistic and cultural assimilation between the 2 ethnic 728 units. Just north of Scutari, however, several 101 fully Albanian villages were handed over to Serbia after the Balkan War, and this caused both economic and political distress. Farther east, from Peia to Dibra, the boundary commission which laid out the border between the 2 countries at that time gave the Yugoslavs all of the strategic positions, and all of the market

[1] Gheg and Tosk in extreme dialectic forms are mutually incomprehensible. It would be hard to state definitely whether they are closely related languages or dialects of one language. Each has numerous local

1[See cat. 116, p.6--Analyst]

2[cont. p. 7c--Analyst] -7b-

[128] towns along the Serbo-Albanian border which served as an economic outlet for both peoples.

This ethnic border is far from clear-cut. Several whole tribes of Ghegs live on the Kossovo plain, along with villages of Serbs. The ancestors of these Lowland Ghegs migrated there in the time of the Turks, after the defeat of the Tzar Dushan. These displaced Ghegs are probably descended from the highland tribes, but it would take much work to establish their exact relationships. We were unable to measure more than a few of them, and therefore shall not consider them in this study.

The Lowland Ghegs of Albania, who equally eluded our calipers, occupy the country from the tribal regions eastward to the Adriatic and southward to the river Shkumbi, the traditional frontier between Ghegnia and Toskeria. Many of the Tosks are Greek Orthodox Christians. The Ghegs who are Christians are Roman Catholics. The majority of both divisions is Moslem. The most solidly Moslem part of Albania is the central region, in both Ghegnia and Toskeria, where the landscape is the least rugged. Both brands of Christianity lived through the Turkish regime most successfully in the mountains. In the south, beside the Tosks, are thousands of Vlachs—shepherds speaking Rumanian as their native tongue—and Bulgars. The Epirote borderland cuts through an area where Greek and Albanian villages overlap, causing trouble.

Throughout Albania one finds camps of nomadic gypsies, living by their traditional trades of metal-working, fortune-telling, horse-trading, etc. In the larger cities there is always a gypsy quarter, whose inhabitants also serve as musicians and prostitutes. In the Gheg country, however, there is no room for gypsy camps or quarters, and the only gypsies which I saw or heard of there were a single individual in Bicaj, and another in Kukës, both in the tribe of Luma.

[197] subdivisions. The official language of Albania is based on the southern Gheg dialect spoken in the city of Elbasan.

1 [author must mean westward. - Analyst]